THE MARINES HAVE LANDED—INTO WHAT?
Ahead of them beyond the beachhead at Beirut is endless guerilla warfare and, on the horizon, a mushroom cloud. Not only the Arabs but the world waited for the Yanks to go home.

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NATIONAL GUARDIAN — the progressive newsweekly — 15 cents

VOL. 10, NO. 41 — NEW YORK, JULY 28, 1958

THE CRISIS WEEK

World faces atom doom as West moves into Mid-East

By Elmer Bendiner

BEACHES, PARKS and playgrounds were jammed on the week-end of July 18-20, traffic was heavy on the highways and only the news bulletins on radio and TV bore witness to the fact that the world might be close to atomic devastation. It had taken less than a week to bring the world to the point where the lives of millions lay in the hands of a group of statesmen and generals. This was the calendar of the crisis:

At three a.m., Monday, July 14, Iraqi troops on their way to duty in Lebanon and Jordan mutinied, seized the Al Rahab Palace in Baghdad, shot King Faisal and his uncle, Crown Prince Abdul Illah, who had served as regent until Faisal came of age in 1953. At the news of the revolt crowds streamed to the palace, snatched the Prince's body from the troops, dragged it into the streets and spat on "the enemy of God," as Baghdad Radio called him. In those same streets the bodies of rebels in other years had been strung up on Abdul's orders.

Premier Nuri as-Said, friend of the West and the Western oil companies, was found disguised as an old woman with a black veil. He was shot to death. Troops swiftly took up key positions. Within hours the revolt was consolidated in Baghdad and throughout the country. There were no monarchist hold-outs among the troops or the people.

WEST PANICKY: Revolutionaries quickly proclaimed Iraq a republic and on July 15 gave it a provisional regime to serve until general elections. Brig. Gen. Abdul Karim el-Kassem, 44, nationalist but no leftist, became premier; Brig. Gen. Nadim Rubaiya, President of the Council of State. On July 15 el-Kassem told the people: "Keep your revolt against the monarchy clean. I ask you to be most friendly and cordial to foreigners, the living guests of your country. Arabs are known to look after their guests and respect them."

The new government quickly recognized the United Arab Republic and dissolved the union with Jordan which had been the monarchy's answer to the UAR. Cairo hailed the revolution as signaling the end of "imperialism" in the Middle East.

Reactions in the seats of empire seemed to bear out Cairo's words. Within 48 hours all Iraq was quiet but London and Washington seemed in panic. Don Cook of the N. Y. **Herald Tribune's** London office wrote: "As seen from London there is simply nothing left to work with in the Middle East." The Washington view was no rosier. The Baghdad Pact looked like a dead letter.

MASSIVE INFILTRATION: On July 15 Marines in battle dress came ashore from the Sixth Fleet at Beirut, Lebanon. There was no resistance from the Lebanese at the beach-head. Admiral James L. Holloway, comanding the expedition,

(Continued on Page 5)

BACKGROUND TO WESTERN INTERVENTION

Why the U.S. and Britain are trying to suppress the UAR

By Kumar Goshal

KNOWING LITTLE and caring less about the wave of popular movements against feudalism and imperialism and for unity engulfing the Arab world, Uncle Sam sailed into the Middle East last week as a modern King Canute, ordering a tide of people to recede.

His vassal John Bull followed swiftly in his wake. The megalomaniac Premier de Gaulle tried to restore France's "grandeur" by stowing away aboard the mad crusade. Recent history indicated that this latest Western attempt would either end in a fiasco or blow up East and West alike.

The three white knights, keeping a watchful eye on each other, rushed into this adventure to "take up the White Man's Burden" and to retain the dark man's riches. The main stake was two-thirds of the world's known reserves—and one-quarter of the world's current production—of oil. Although the old method of divide-and-rule, bribery and forcible suppression of independence movements had failed dismally, they were giving them one last try.

CRAZY-QUILT: Britain and France used these methods after World War I when they divided up the Middle East into the crazy-quilt pattern it has today. Britain took a chunk out of Syria, made it into what is Jordan today. France had a hard time holding onto Syria, split it into Syria and Lebanon.

Even before World War I ended, Britain had oil stakes in the Middle East, with France and Holland as junior partners. Between the two world wars, the U.S. gradually muscled in and, when World War II ended, U.S. oil companies dominated the field.

(Continued on Page 4)

AN EDITORIAL STATEMENT

We've reached the last ultimatum: Peace, or else

THE WAR THAT NOW THREATENS US—to keep the past upon its throne in the Middle East and safeguard the Anglo-American empire of oil—may not be comprehended in any terms of human experience. The world could hardly survive it. The people of this country must act to prevent it, to withdraw the threats, to insure against any more such brink-of-war actions by an American government.

The "limited-war" advocates are lost already, without even a test of their theories. The Khrushchev note calling for an immediate summit meeting of the heads of governments makes this clear. The land and air operations our government has undertaken in Lebanon, aimed at Iraq, are going on within 500 miles of Soviet borders. It is as if a Soviet carrier fleet were operating in the Caribbean Sea, and Soviet marines had landed in, say, Guatemala. If one can imagine the furor and tension such a series of events would create in our country, one can marvel at the moderation of the Khrushchev note, yet understand the implications it contains of a missile, nuclear war unless the capitalist world withdraws its arms and men and turns its aim from the Soviet orbit.

THE EVENTS which have occurred—and will keep on occurring—in the Arab world have been amply foretold in the GUARDIAN. They are a bearing out of an age-old Arab dream of a united nation. They are propelled now by separate national determinations to move forward from a feudalism which the capitalist world would like preserved, toward a kind of capitalism of their own. Egypt—not the Soviet Union—is the exemplar of this movement, and the hub around which it is grouping itself. Even the **Wall St. Journal** has pointed this out to those seeking to justify intervention in the Middle East as part of the program of Communist containment.

With the sad-sack exception of Jordan, the Arab world has shown a stirring solidarity against Anglo-American intervention. Even Saudi Arabia has barred Anglo-American troop and supply flights over its territory. The billionaire Sheik Abdullah of Kuwait, supplier of half of Britain's oil, has conferred with the United Arab Republic's President Nasser and may be the next to join. Even in spite of Anglo-American intervention, the people of both Lebanon and Jordan are moving toward unity with Egypt and Syria in the united republic. To seek to halt this movement is a crass betrayal of traditional American ideals. To stay progress for profit is the way of colonial imperialism, no matter what crusading armor the imperialist wears.

(Continued on Page 2)

THE MAIL BAG

Blunderbuster

NEW YORK, N.Y.

With the military intervention in Lebanon, our government has added blunderbuss to its foreign policy of blunder. **H.H.**

Adventures of Ike

NEW YORK, N.Y.

Our President just committed the greatest monstrous blunder in occupying Lebanon. It was entirely unjustified and is out and out meddling to protect the oil monopoly. By this action the Soviet Union is just as justified to walk into Iran, to protect its frontier, in fact, more justified.

How stupid of the American people to have picked such a political lemon, when they could have had a Stevenson, a man with some gray matter up above. I designate Ike as the worst president we ever had.

I don't think Americans should sacrifice one drop of blood of a bed bug for Ike's adventure on behalf of Wall Street & Rockefeller, etc. When will Americans wake up to the fact that they are being sold down the river by our political puppets?

Vee M. Ess

Oregon readers, note

SALEM, ORE.

Please request GUARDIAN readers in the Salem area to contact me so we can get acquainted and perhaps develop some group activity?

Theodore E. Stuver
464-23rd St., SE

Morris Pevsner

SPRINGFIELD, MASS.

In fond memory of Morris Pevsner, a dear, good soul who died in his 78th year, a group of us enclose $100.

Friends

Faster for peace

MCLEAN, VA.

Just finished my 40-day fast against the tests. Lost 31 pounds. Feel better now than I did after the first 2 weeks. Met an Irishman who I think worked in the building where I picketed who had fasted 62 days with McSwiney. Others fasted 94 days then and lived. So I am a piker compared with them and with the early Christians who fasted 60 days in the hot desert.

I will be picketing the tax office in New York City in August.

Ammon Hennacy

Peculiar to Levittowns

PHILADELPHIA, PA.

According to published reports, William Levitt will build Levittown III in New Jersey as a lily-white project similar to Levittown I in L.I. and Levittown II near Philadelphia.

As you know, state and local officials had to intervene in Philadelphia's Levittown to prevent disturbances last year when a colored family bought a house there. Many people may not remember that the Levitt's operations would be impossible without government cash backing through the F.H.A. and V.A. in the form of guaranteed mortgage loans.

The Levitt's "private initiative" does not prevent them from using the public till to back their projects. But their "private initiative" does apparently lead them to duck contributing their income taxes to the public treasury.

The U.S. Senate Banking & Currency Committee reported in 1954 that the Levitt Bros. built 4,028 houses in Levittown I on a capital of $50,000 by means of some $30 million in FHA insured mortgages. Actual construction costs were $5 million less than the FHA insured mortgages. In order to avoid income taxes on the $5 million, the Levitts engaged in a peculiar transaction with a charity, "Junto Inc.," which resulted in their paying 50% of the normal tax.

Name Withheld

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

BEIRUT TRANQUIL BUT TENSE

—Page One headline, N.Y. **Times**, 7/19

One year free subscription for each item printed under this heading. Be sure to send original clip with each entry. Winner this week: J.D., Fire Island, N.Y.

Imperialist intervention

BELHAVEN, N.C.

Here we go again! Let the Arabs have their own nation and their own oil! Not one human being should die in support of the claims of British and American oil interests in the Middle East. I shall never support American imperialistic intervention in this region—nor will most Americans, as you shall see.

Vernon Ward

Fairy tale

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

Here is what I just wrote to Pres. Eisenhower:

"Your fairytale that you are repelling 'indirect aggression from without,' is patently untrue, and has been proven false by United Nations investigation. You are not repelling aggression, you are engaging in massive, unprovoked aggression against the type of revolution upon which this country is founded.

"You are protecting colonialism by the most vicious type of fascist repression. You nullify our republican tradition. You betray our heritage. You are placing oil above human liberty. You will be repudiated by history, by rapidly developing events."

Leo Gallagher

Ersatz king

CHINO, CALIF.

E. H. Powell's "By Camel and Car to the Peacock Throne" (1923) says, "that Britain made a completely synthetic king, Feisal I, and placed him on the throne of Iraq. And no one on pain of death dared to say no!"

Mr. Powell wrote, "Lest I be charged with bias and with being anti-British, I would emphasize the fact that this account of the intrigues which resulted in placing Feisal I, on the throne of Iraq against the wishes of its inhabitants, is drawn entirely from British sources. See the series of articles entitled 'The Mesopotamian Mystery' which appeared in the London **Times** of December 27, 28, 29, 1921."

Agnes E. Roche

Economics is the key

ORANGE, CALIF.

With the American economy receding 11 per cent in the first quarter of 1958 while the Russian economy advanced in an equal percentage, perhaps it is time we should begin to look to our laurels.

Many new nations just emerging from colonial imperialism are seriously inquiring: Is the great United States, in complete disregard of the truth of the world situation, caught in a compulsive drive to continue the Cold War in an attempt to make viable an economy no longer able to maintain itself on its own base? Back in 1952, the Los Angeles **Times** columnist Holmes Alexander wrote: "The cause-and-effect relationship between foreign policy and domestic prosperity is there for all to see. The 104,000 casualties in Korea are one reason we have a full employment figure of 61,000,000."

Can it be denied that during the 30 years since the stock market crash of 1929 the American economy has functioned at productive capacity with full employment only during the time we have been preparing for war or actively engaged in war? To minds unblinded by prejudice or passion it is becoming clearer every day that what is actually being called in question by our rivals for world leadership is the ability of our system of capitalist production to operate in the long term without resorting to war for the control of natural resources and markets.

Born in a revolution of the 18th century, our great country seems to be missing its opportunity of leadership in the world-wide revolutions of the 20th. As many world-observers tell us, we have been too often during the past decsive decade recognized as the champion of the status quo while peoples have been rising against their feudal rulers and demanding a place in the sun. Instead of an imaginative leadership toward peace and cooperation with the new forces, we seem to have been contented with the direction of our affairs by old men who mistook a sterile "anti-communism" for an adequate and comprehensive policy to meet the conditions of a rapidly changing world.

(Judge) Edward P. Totten

London Daily Mirror

"All this trouble with insurance papers! Sometimes I wish you hadn't had your wretched accident!"

James McEvoy Jr.

ST. PAUL, MINN.

In memory of James McEvoy Jr., who was killed recently in an automobile accident, we are enclosing $25 as a contribution to the GUARDIAN. James' parents are friends of the GUARDIAN. We have had many picnics at their Turtle Lake home. One would have to look far and wide to find two more sincere and fine people.

Emma & Charles E. Lee

Ten-year old James McEvoy was killled by a speeding automobile at a playground this spring. His father writes us: "Jimmy at the tender age of ten was greatly interested in atomic science and just the day before he was killed by a speed maniac who ran up on a school grounds boulevard and killled him, he had made a fervent wish that he could do something to stop the A- and H-bomb tests. He had just learned that Red Skelton's 10-year old boy had died of leukemia and he blamed the fall-out for his death."

GUARDIAN friends in the Minneapolis-St. Paul area are gathering Sunday, Aug. 3, at Mr. McEvoy's Turtle Lake home, 1995 Hanson Road, St. Paul, for their annual GUARDIAN picnic.—Ed.

Kudos for Terman

GLEN ELLEN, CALIF.

I read with special interest the item in your July 7 issue summarizing the impact of the tour of the Moiseyev dancers and dealing in part with their visit to Chicago. As one who happened to be in the Windy City when the troupe was there (I also had the thrill of seeing them in San Francisco), let me wholeheartedly echo the kudos you extended to Mandel Terman for his share in making this event as fantastically successful as it was. Of course, the dancers' visit would have been a greatly stirring event anyway, as it was everywhere else; but it had a particular impressiveness in Chicago, which was due in no small part to Mandel's imaginative, all-encompassing campaign to see the dancers got the hospitality and attention they deserved.

This accomplishment of Mandel Terman is characteristic of him; and it seems to me that this is as good a time as any to voice to this indefatigable crusader for peace and human rights the gratitude and affection that is felt by all of us who want to see the world become the sort of place it should be.

Albert E. Kahn

War risk seen

NEW YORK, N.Y.

Our credulous people, conditioned by TV commercials, would believe that we had more reason for an invasion than France and England had in Egypt 20 months earlier. The President's statement that we will continue the troop landings, "whatever the consequences," together with the virtual mobilization of all U.S. Forces, including our H-bomb-Strategic Air Command, proves that we are willing, even under violation of the UN Charter to risk a third world war. Our action gives to the Soviets the right to land an army in Syria "for its protection." **John H. Beck**

Albert E. Marquet

MODESTO, CALIF.

Enclosed is $10 in memory of Albert E. Marquet of Tigard, Oregon, who died May 27th.

S. J. Charneski

NATIONAL GUARDIAN
the progressive newsweekly

Published weekly by Weekly Guardian Associates, Inc., 197 E. 4th St., N.Y. 9, N.Y. Telephone: ORegon 3-3800

SUBSCRIPTION RATES: U. S. A. possessions, Canada, Latin America, Philippine Islands, $5 a year. First class and air mail on request. United Kingdom 35s a year payable to GUARDIAN London Bureau, 16 Talbot Sq., London W2, England; otherwise $6 a year overseas. GUARDIAN Paris Bureau, 103, avenue de Gravelle, St. Maurice (Seine), France. Single copies 15c. Reentered as second class matter Feb. 20, 1933, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879.

CEDRIC BELFRAGE, *Editor-in-Exile* — JOHN T. McMANUS, *General Manager* — JAMES ARONSON, *Editor*

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Vol. 10, No. 41 — 401 — July 28, 1958

Peace, or else

(Continued from Page 1)

IN THE GUARDIAN'S TEN YEARS we have carefully documented the timing of military coups by our government with periods of economic crisis. The Truman Doctrine, followed by intervention in Greece, offset the first post-World War II slump. The Korean intervention headed off the next. By a hair we avoided intervention in Indo-China at the time of the '53-'54 decline.

The intervention in Lebanon is timed, by design or coincidence, to head off a whole mare's nest of problems for the current administration as well as the economy. It was a fateful and revealing slip of the tongue President Eisenhower made when, in explaining to the people over TV the reason for the intervention in Lebanon, he accused international communism of "fomenting civil rights." He quickly corrected himself to say "civil strife" but more than a few got the point. A military move somewhere was needed to head off the public determination to nail down civil rights, to affirm civil liberties and to force government intervention where it is needed the most, to head off a full depression.

MR. KHRUSHCHEV, in his note calling for an immediate summit meeting to settle Middle East differences, now puts an end to the ten-year-old method of meeting domestic crises with military adventures. This, if it comes to the point of armed conflict, will be the adventure to end all such adventures. And this is not just to our way of thinking. In a small story buried among much weightier ones last week, the Strategic Air Command announced that it had sharply stepped up the number of long-range nuclear bombers kept on alert for instant action. Much of the SAC's fleet, composed of 2,400 aircraft, bombers and tankers, is now ready to begin taking off on 15-minutes notice. Crews need only to put on helmets and climb into cockpits. Waves of bombers can roll within minutes from ready positions on parking areas at the heads of runways.

The language is the SAC's, not ours. We tremble at the type of military mind which supposes waves of bombers would be any more effective than flights of arrows against a target nation armed with intercontinental ballistic missiles of pinpoint accuracy. To those who argue that the Russians haven't got U. S. targets zeroed in accurately, we will readily agree that a missile aimed for Manhattan might land in Brooklyn, or one tagged for San Francisco hit Oakland instead.

LUCKILY, THE MISSILE man wants peace, and has been talking and acting that way for the last ten Cold War years and more. Now a crisis of our making, at a point 5,000 miles from our borders and within 500 of the Soviet Union's, has brought the discussion to the ultimatum stage. It is peace, or else.

We can think of no choice easier to make—even if it means a summit meeting on Khrushchev's terms instead of Dulles'. We urge you to lose no time in letting your Congressman and Senators know where you stand on whether we invite a missile war to try to prevent the Arab states from going the way of the American states in 1776.

THE GUARDIAN.

WAR CRISIS CHANGES HIS MIND

Lamont for Senate on N.Y. Independent-Socialist slate

CORLISS LAMONT, humanist philosopher and victor in civil liberties battles over the late Sen. McCarthy and the State Dept.'s passport division, has joined the political ticket of New York's United Independent-Socialist Electoral Conference. He will stand for U. S. Senate with a slate including John T. McManus of the GUARDIAN for governor and Dr. Annette T. Rubinstein for lieutenant-governor in a statewide petition campaign starting July 29 to place five candidates on the ballot for the November election.

MR. and MRS. CORLISS LAMONT
Peace finds a voice

The crisis in the Middle East and "the lack of opposition in the U. S. to the reckless and immoral resort to force by the Eisenhower Administration" impelled Lamont on July 18 to reconsider an earlier decision not to accept a bid from the Conference to join the ticket. At a press conference at which his letter to the Conference co-chairman Henry Abrams and John T. McManus was made public, Lamont noted that the Conference was the first political grouping to come out against the Middle East intervention and stated that "a lot of people, not necessarily radicals, will want to vote for peace."

A reporter asked whether Lamont might not "be suspected of disloyalty to the government." He replied that it was the duty of every patriotic citizen to speak out and "if it lands me in jail, then that's all in the game, I guess."

CANVASSERS WANTED: The Conference's continuing committee met July 21 and designated Lamont for senator. Dr. Rubinstein, originally designated for senator, accepted instead the designation for lieutenant-governor. Lamont's letter of acceptance promised "as vigorous a campaign as possible for the great goals of international peace, civil liberties and an economic system that will do away with economic recessions and depression." He noted that the United Socialist Party, the ballot designation the Conference group will seek, "stands with the British Labor Party (which voted solidly against English intervention in Jordan), in opposition to Anglo-American military efforts to suppress the national aspirations of the Arab peoples toward full political and economic independence."

A petition rally in New York July 24 set up teams to collect a necessary 12,000 signatures throughout the state. Designations for state comptroller and attorney-general will complete the petition ticket. McManus was scheduled to speak on the N. Y. campaign at Mountain Spring Camp, Washington, N. J., a socialist resort, on Sun. July 27. A campaign "Encampment" was scheduled for Wingdale resort, at Wingdale, N. Y., on the weekend of Aug. 15-17. Petitions must be filed by Sept. 9 with the N. Y. Secretary of State.

London Daily Mirror
"I'm the party she belongs to!"

Which page do you read?

Some said they interpreted Secretary Dulles' remarks as tending toward this course after the whole Middle Eastern matter had been placed before the Security Council. He was said to feel that while concrete evidence was lacking to connect President Nasser with the Iraq coup, there was every reason to assume he was behind it.

—N.Y. Times, 7/15, page 2

There was every evidence that Cairo was as startled by news of the coup as was the rest of the world.

—N.Y. Times, 7/15, page 2

No one doubted that there was a strong element of discontent beneath the placid surface maintained by Nuri as-Said's strong rule, but no diplomat in the area had expected or forecast a coup.

—N.Y. Times, 7/15, page 6

For more than a month diplomats and observers in Iraq have been reporting growing unrest and signs of an impending explosion among the masses against the as-Said Government.

—N.Y. Times, 7/15, page 3

Highlight of the 49th annual convention of the NAACP was the award of the Spingarn medal "for outstanding achievement by a Negro" to the nine "tender warriors" of Little Rock and their sponsor, Mrs. Daisy Bates, president of the Arkansas State NAACP. Left to right, back row, are: Jefferson Thomas, Ernest Green, Terence Roberts, Melba Patillo, Carlotta Walls. Minnijean Brown. Front row, left to right, are Thelma Mothershed, Elizabeth Eckford, Gloria Ray, Mrs. Bates (wearing medal); William E. Stevenson, President of Oberlin College, who presented the awards, and Arthur E. Spingarn, NAACP president.

SEEKS TO DOUBLE NEGRO VOTE IN SOUTH

NAACP convention criticizes Ike for silence on integration

WITH FIVE YEARS to go in its 10-year "Fight for Freedom" crusade, the NAACP concluded its week-long 49th annual convention in Cleveland on July 13. Secy. Roy Wilkins capped the speech-making with a summing-up address at the closing mass meeting. Last year's developments had been "encouraging," he said, citing passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1957 and New York City's law against segregated private housing.

Wilkins felt that "segregationists are losing the battle of public opinion" and that, since the 1954 Supreme Court decision banning jimcrow education, the deep South has been engaged in a "lost cause."

Biggest concern of the convention was the failure of the Administration and Congress to keep pace with the courts in protecting civil rights. Wilkins asked the President to make himself "unmistakably clear" in his support for integration. A convention resolution called upon President Eisenhower to "go South" and speak out against the White Citizens' Councils.

WHAT'S AHEAD: Other goals set by the convention were: a 1958 civil rights bill, restoring Title III which authorizes the government to intervene in any case where a citizen's civil rights are violated; adoption of an anti-filibuster rule in the Senate; elimination of discrimination in government employment, private industry and trade unions; doubling, by 1960, the Southern Negro voter registration which now stands at 1,300,000, about 25% of the potential. Wilkins urged Negroes in the North to vote for liberal candidates regardless of party.

The convention registered the fact that membership had declined by more than 38,000 to 312,277 at the end of last year. Officials expected that the recent Supreme Court decision over-ruling an Alabama requirement for disclosure of membership would revive Southern participation in NAACP activities.

Wilkins summed up: "We need and deserve aid from the Federal Government and from all freedom-loving Americans, for we are fighting not for ourselves alone but for freedom, the basic ideal on which our nation was founded. We're fighting for Americanism, not Negroism." As a concession to the currently popular view of Americanism, the convention passed for the ninth consecutive year a resolution barring Communists from its branches and activities.

HEARINGS CALLED OFF AS OPPOSITION MOUNTS

Passport restriction bill blocked in Senate

THE ADMINISTRATION'S plan to win clear sailing for a bill to restore the State Department's authority to deny passports to those without a political bill of health ran into a squall of Congressional opposition last week.

Hearings on the measure (S. 4110), scheduled for July 16-17 before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, were cut short after the first day. Robert Murphy, deputy Undersecretary of State, gave the principal testimony in favor of the bill. Before he could finish, however, Secy. Dulles called him out of the hearing and sent him packing for Beirut, Lebanon, where U.S. foreign policy was being challenged by large numbers of people not covered by the proposed legislation.

In his abbreviated testimony Murphy declared that the bill was needed to prevent Communist "agents and couriers" from leaving the country. But, in response to a question, he admitted that the State Dept. would administer the law with the aid of a blacklist containing 20,000,000 names. He did not say whether the 20,000,000 suspects are regarded by the State Dept. as potential "agents and couriers."

'INEXCUSABLE': The response of some Senators to Murphy's performance was anything but enthusiastic. Sen. Wayne Morse (D-Ore.) said: "I have never in 13 years in the Senate been so deeply moved as by the inexcusable attack on constitutional guarantees that is contained in the Administration bill." Another committee member, William F. Langer (R-N.D.) expressed his agreement. Sen. J. William Fulbright (D-Ark.) said he favored giving the State Dept. authority to deny Communists passports, but was afraid the proposed bill would infringe on the rights of others.

When the Committee convened the second day, chairman Theodore Francis Green (D-R.I.), sponsor of the Administration bill, was obliged to call off the hearings for lack of the common consent of the Committee members. Senate rules require unanimous agreement for a committee to meet when there is action on the floor. Objection to the hearing came from Sen. Morse who said he saw little possibility of action on the bill at this session of Congress.

HUMPHREY'S BILL: Morse was one of six Democrats who joined with Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey of Minnesota to introduce a passport bill designed to embody the spirit of the recent Supreme Court ruling voiding the State Department's political curbs. The bill (S. 4137) was described as the "Right to Travel Abroad Act." It obliges the Secy. of State to issue a passport within 30 days to any citizen who identifies himself properly and pays his fee.

Passports under the Humphrey bill could be denied only to persons convicted of, or indicted for, a felony, or in times of war, on the basis of limitations imposed by the President. The bill eliminates as an excuse for passport controls periods of "national emergency," under cover of which recent denials have been justified. It contains a "travel at your own risk" section which provides that the State Dept. may warn citizens against travel in sections of the world it considers dangerous, but may not prohibit such travel.

In introducing the bill, Humphrey said it would "end the State Department's paternalistic attitude toward American citizens. It would also end the Department's practice of using the travel of private American citizens as a tool of foreign policy."

THE FUTILITY OF CONTAINMENT

Conditions in Iraq made coup certain

By Tabitha Petran
Guardian staff correspondent

PARIS

THE MILITARY COUP which proclaimed Iraq a Republic July 14 is the expression of the capitalist revolution against feudalism and imperialism now gathering momentum in the Arab East. The GUARDIAN predicted six months ago that such a coup was inevitable.

Iraq's revolution demonstrates the futility of containment, for no country has ever been more "contained" than Iraq, not only from so-called "communist" ideas but also from those of Arab nationalism.

During World War II it was the only "allied" nation to ban Soviet publications. Syrian and Egyptian publications have also been banned. Some years after the war Iraq broke diplomatic relations with the U.S.S.R. on the grounds that these "were not necessary." It is not only the physical seat of the Baghdad Pact but the center of the Pact's "anti-subversive" organism. Baghdad as early as 1949 published a 1,000-page "Encyclopedia of Communist Infiltration" to serve as a guide book for all fascist and semi-fascist governments in the Middle East.

REPRESSION: No authoritative estimates exist of how many people have been held in Nuri as-Said's prisons and concentration camps but the figure—in this country of less than 5,000,00—may well run into tens of thousands. People sent to jail seldom if ever returned: they died under torture or impossible conditions.

Iraqi political refugees in Damascus gave me an idea last summer of how the system operated. After the war an effort was made to organize trade unions and in 1946 some 23 existed. By 1949 there were none. Imprisonment, torture and hanging destroyed the democratic movement among the workers. Distribution of leaflets carried a 7-year sentence; organization of more than three persons was a hanging offense. Execution of three communist leaders without trial in 1948 marked the beginning of a period when shooting and hanging of political prisoners—variously tagged as army "rebels," "communists," and "Zionists"—without even the pretense of legality—was commonplace.

ECONOMIC STAGNATION: From one of the most prosperous countries of the Middle East (Iraq lies between the Tigris and Euphrates), the land has become one of the poorest in the world. The problem of landlessness, now overwhelming, has arisen only in the last 30 years, worsening since World War II. Originally Iraq's land was tribally, that is, communally-owned. Between the two wars, however, the process of settling land titles was begun under British direction. Tribally-owned land was handed over to the tribal chiefs, making them big landlords who accumulated great sums of cash by exporting grain and cotton to Britain—thus giving the British Empire a "vested interest" class.

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Conversion to cash crops and the all-pervading poverty of the peasants—the majority of the population—have prevented the development of an internal market and hence of industry.

In Baghdad, which despite the government's hundreds of millions of dollars of oil revenue still lacks a sewage system, the slums have mushroomed beside the sewage dumps. "Conditions there are unbelievable," an Iraqi medical student in Cairo told me last summer. "But at least," he added bitterly, "the people in these slums don't suffer from malaria and bilharziasis. The water is too polluted for mosquitoes and snails."

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Needless to say, the "program" has neither improved the lot of the people nor provided any spur to economic expansion. Since this has been so, there was no industrial class to challenge the ruling landlords. But this does not mean that the latter remained unchallenged. The alliance of trading bourgeoisie, artisans, intellectuals, the army (springing from the middle class) has traditionally fought against feudal rule and its foreign supporters.

This has been demonstrated again and again since the revolution of 1936 in which young officers joined with other young reformers of the Ahali (people's) group to overthrow the pro-British puppet government of the time (in which Nuri Said was foreign minister).

Today, the intervention which has started in Lebanon and Jordan, if it blazes over into Syria and Iraq, might be the beginning of a long protracted Algeria-type war—if not the atomic end of life on our planet.

FAIR ENOUGH: THE WEST GETS THE OIL AND THE ARABS RIDE THE PIPELINE
Iraqis last week: took the first step along a new road

U.S. and Britain

(Continued from Page 1)

THE ARAB REVOLUTION: Despite all the tricks known to imperialism and all its ruthless use of force, the struggle for freedom and unity continued among the Arabs, although unevenly. The establishment of the Egyptian Republic, the Bandung conference, and the nationalization of the Suez Canal Co. quickened the pace considerably.

Repeated discussion at the UN of all people's right to freedom and to their resources and of the possibility of an international fund for economic progress of the economically retarded countries helped broaden the scope of the Arab freedom movement. The appearance of the Soviet Union as an alternate source of supply of economic tools offered the Arabs greater political maneuverability.

Two recent events accelerated the pace of the Arab liberation movement more than ever before, and were responsible to a great extent for the furious, reckless U.S.-British military intervention in the Middle East. These were: Italian and Japanese competition for oil concessions in the Middle East and the formation of the United Arab Republic.

ITALY'S OFFER: By and large, oil profits on sale of oil at shipside in the Middle East have been split 50-50 between Western oil companies and the feudal rulers of oil-holding territories. The Italian state oil company, run by the shrewd Enrico Mattei, arranged a 75-25 deal with Iran. The Japanese company signed with Saudi Arabia and with Kuwait a 57-43 across-the-board split, from production at the oil field to final sale at a gas station.

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Repercussions to the formation of the United Arab Republic were felt throughout the Middle East, even among the sultanates of the Aden Protectorate. Weak political movements gained new vigor in Jordan and Iraq. Lebanese and Jordanians remembered that their countries were torn from Syria not too long ago. The idea of federating with the UAR in some form caught fire.

THE KING AND IKE: Such a federation offered other attractions to the Arabs outside the UAR. These Arabs lived in incredible misery and squalor while their rulers—tied to the U.S.—lived in luxury. Any attempt on their part to better their condition was crushed by their rulers with U.S. aid.

In April last year, for example, the Eisenhower administration propped up Jordan's King Hussein against the first popularly elected government in his country's history. Two months later, a shipment of U.S. arms arrived for the Chamoun government in Beirut just as the Lebanese were preparing to vote in a general election.

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TROUBLE IN ADEN: While Kuwait has remained relatively quiet, serious trouble has broken out in Aden. Britain's war with Aden's neighbor Yemen, which has joined the UAR and which claims border territory ruled by Britain, has grown into major proportions. According to **U.S. News & World Report**, a Briton in the area said: "Whole villages have risen against us—men, women and children."

In the protectorate itself, Sir Ali Abdul Karim, sultan of the largest unit, Lahej, has been openly agitating for a federation of the 23 sultanates, which in turn would join the UAR. Small armed units from the protectorate have been deserting to the UAR, and in Aden Colony, the N.Y. **Times** reported, "nationalism is growing [and] a recent strike . . . had nationalist overtones." Blaming all on the sultan of Lahej, London on July 11 banished him from the protectorate.

Hunger, disease, illiteracy, feudal and foreign exploitation and not communism lie at the root of the Arabs' discontent. The Soviet Union has a stake in the Middle East nevertheless, as a neighbor needing and desiring peace. Knowing the West's aim of crushing communism, it cannot permit its Middle East border to bristle with Western bases.

THE WAY OUT: The present U.S.-British-French military intervention is really aimed at the UAR, personified in Western eyes by President Nasser. The UAR President, however, is but a symbol; with or without him, the Arabs' march to freedom and unity will continue, and the West, unless bent on suicide, will have to fall in line.

Afro-Asians and the Soviet Union have proposed constructive alternatives: Encouragement of democracy rather than the propping up of feudalism; support of the Special United Nations Fund for Economic Development of poor countries; gradual elimination of foreign economic control of the region's resources; agreement to buy in the open market minerals now obtained through cheap labor at high profit; promotion of region-wide economic development, with Israel as a partner.

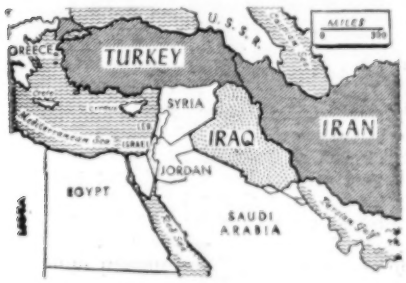
Before all else, however, the West must agree to renounce force as a means of settling disputes and of maintaining special privileges. At the moment, this would call for the immediate withdrawal of Western forces from the Middle East.

Crisis week

(Continued from Page 1)

said: "We exercised restraint which made it easy for them to collaborate. . . . We have the power and they did collaborate." UN observers had been in Lebanon to check on alleged "infiltration" from outside its borders to help the rebels. They had found none. A Lebanese official commented: "The UN is now observing the American infiltration. It is massive infiltration, isn't it?"

In the days that followed, that "infiltration" grew to invasion size. Paratroopers, armed with atomic artillery, were rushed from Germany by way of



Turkey. By the end of the week there were close to 10,000 U. S. troops in Lebanon matching almost man for man the total combined forces of the Lebanese army and the rebel contingents. Warships filled Beirut's harbor. U. S. planes buzzed low along the Jordan river to warn the Middle East, officials said, that the Fleet was in.

As the Marines landed, the Lebanese army—which has declined to attack the rebels with any vigor—at first swiveled its guns on the Marines. Only at the last moment was Gen. Fuad Shehab dissuaded from giving the signal to fire. Rebel snipers took pot-shots at the Marines and Lebanese boys sold soft drinks in crates that turned out to be booby-traps. Some U. S. planes were hit by rebel machine-gun fire but the only U. S. casualty after one week of occupation was a pilot whose plane crashed into a mountain while taking aerial photographs.

THE RESISTANCE: Rebel spokesmen warned that if the U. S. troops moved out of Beirut into rebel-held territory they would ask for volunteers from other lands to help the resistance. They ordered their men to cease any major action against other Lebanese and concentrate on the "invaders."

Observers agreed that the landing had accomplished greater unity than many thought possible, with many formerly pro-West elements going over to the rebels. At least half the Lebanese parliament, including its chairman, demanded the withdrawal of the troops. A Lebanese in New York told the GUARDIAN that if the Marines left, Lebanon's President Camille Chamoun, who had "requested" them, would have to leave with them.

As the Marines went ashore, the U. S. called for a meeting of the UN Security Council to legalize the landings. The Council met on July 15. All that week the debate dragged on. The U. S. proposed that the UN move in to do the job of protecting the Chamoun government from what the U. S. called "indirect aggression," meaning revolution. When that was done the Marines would leave, said the U. S. To many it seemed a matter of substituting a UN flag for the U.S. flag since the Marines would probably comprise the bulk of UN forces. The Soviet Union called for the immediate withdrawal of all foreign forces. Sweden, declaring that the landing was an "unauthorized" interference with domestic affairs in Lebanon, asked that the UN observers be withdrawn by way of condemning the action.

THE EMPIRE BLOC: The U. S. resolution was defeated by the Soviet veto with Sweden abstaining. The Soviet's lost 8-1 with Sweden and Japan abstaining. Sweden's proposal lost 9-2 with only the Soviet Union supporting Sweden. The debate was more revealing than the results. Canada, Colombia, Panama, Japan, though they went along with the U. S., were deeply critical and regretted the U. S. move. Tokyo said it had made peace "more difficult." Sweden's breakaway was a blow to the U. S.

UN Secy. General Dag Hammarskjold further embarrassed the U. S. by reminding the Council that the UN observers team had not found any signs of the infiltration from outside that had been the pretext for the U. S. landings.

In the end the U. S. could get firm support only from the Empire bloc and the expatriate delegations. Britain's Sir Pierson Dixon said: "We never recognize revolutionary governments." France dutifully seconded every Anglo-U. S. maneuver, unmindful of reports that U. S. and British forces were busily elbowing the French away from Beirut where de Gaulle had sent a cruiser to carry the Cross of Lorraine to glory.

The rest of the U. S. support in the Council came from the dispossessed: an Iraqi delegate, accredited by the vanished monarchy, who could not go home again, and the Formosa representative who persists in the UN fiction of representing China.

DEMONSTRATIONS: The shift of the neutrals was just as marked outside of the UN. India, West Germany and Italy were disturbed. In Indonesia volunteers offered to fight the U. S. troops in the Middle East. In Rome and Buenos Aires there were mass demonstrations at the U. S. Embassies.

Nothing, however equalled the demonstration of 100,000 at the U. S. Embassy in Moscow. No demonstration like it had been seen in Moscow since 1917. The Embassy's windows were shattered. Ink bottles were flung inside. Reports said the demonstration was staged but the anger on the faces of the people, facing the threat of atomic war, was unmistakeably genuine. The Moscow cops seemed to be having trouble restraining the demonstrations.

Meanwhile the military build-up continued. On July 17 Britain announced that its "Red Devil" paratroopers had landed in Jordan at the call of King Hussein who had proclaimed himself the ruler of the Arab Union of Jordan and Iraq. While Hussein thundered defiance of the Iraqi republic it was plain that only the British could protect him from his people. Other British troops landed at Libya, Egypt's neighbor, presumably to protect King Idris who later said he had not called for help. Still others were airlifted into the British-controlled sultanates of Arabia to be handy in case oil-soaked Kuwait should be menaced.

The British Empire leans heavily upon tiny Kuwait and looked unkindly on the conferences held in Cairo during Crisis Week between President Nasser and Kuwait's leaders. There were even rumors that Kuwait might enter the UAR which would be the last straw for the embattled Empire.

ELEVENTH HOUR: Nasser had apparently been taken as much by surprise as most others. He had been conferring with Yugoslav President Tito on the island of Brioni and was sailing back to Cairo aboard his yacht when the Iraqi revolt broke out. He thereupon changed course for the Soviet Union and turned up in Moscow for an eight-hour chat with Premier Khrushchev. He was said to have won the promise of Soviet volunteers if, but only if, the Anglo-American forces threatened Iraq.

By the week-end it looked as if the U. S. and Britain had seized all available points in the Middle East to frustrate the growing movement for Arab liberation. The Soviet Union throughout the week had warned repeatedly that it could "not remain indifferent" to the massive build-up so close to its borders.

On July 19 Khrushchev dispatched messages to the U. S., Britain, France, India and the Secy. Gen. of the UN. The note reminded the world that the Soviet Union could match the atomic weapons of the West and in addition had intercontinental missiles. (During Crisis Week another U. S. missile fizzled at Cape Canaveral.) He pleaded for a summit conference of the five powers and Hammarskjold at Geneva on July 22 but said he would be willing to go anywhere any time to solve the problem. His words were probably the gravest ever uttered by a statesman. He spoke of "this grim historic moment, when one cannot procrastinate a minute longer. . . . You understand full well that history has not left us much time to avert war, to avert the destruction of many millions of people, to avert the annihilation of tremendous material and cultural values."

He urged swift action "because the guns are already beginning to fire." He wrote: ". . . on your government, on you, personally, Mr. President, now depends the solution of the question how the conflict which has arisen in the area of the Near and Middle East is to be settled—by war or peace."

FATEFUL REJECTION: Only India and Hammarskjold accepted. The reactions in Washington and London seemed almost frivolous. Spokesmen called it a "propaganda" maneuver. "Inside" stories said that the Soviet Union would not act. Having moved in troops with unprecedented speed Britain and the U. S. urged all deliberate caution. De Gaulle said he would not be "stampeded." Having by-passed the UN by sending in troops the U. S. and Britain said they could not by-pass the UN to take them out again. The Security Council on July 21 took up a Japanese resolution which sought to meet the U. S. demands that the UN observer team be expanded without explicity calling for withdrawal of the Marines and paratroopers. If that failed a General Assembly would probably be summoned.

On July 22 the U.S. and Britain, ignoring pleas from Canada and other states drafted a fateful answer to Khrushchev, rejecting a summit conference at least for now.

Military analyst Hanson Baldwin said over NBC-TV that you could do everything with bayonets except sit on them. At GUARDIAN's press time Britain and the U. S. were doing precisely that. They sat on bayonets in Lebanon, Jordan and elsewhere. If they withdrew—and the world was prepared to offer face-saving devices for retreat—their puppets would be lost and the net result of their maneuver would have been to solidify the Pan-Arab movement of liberation. If they sit still they risk at least an occupation and guerilla war of indefinite duration and perhaps a spark that may touch off annihilation. If they go further they risk the Atomic Doomsday.

An appeal from Iraq

By cable to the Guardian

BAGHDAD

ON BEHALF OF GRADUATES of American universities in Iraq we appeal to you in the most urgent manner to stop United States aggression in our sister Arab state of Lebanon, the aggression against our sister state Jordan and the aggression being contemplated against our own beloved country. It is not possible for us to see how the United States, with complete disregard of the principles of the United Nations and without paying any heed to the report of the UN Commission in Lebanon, can give itself the right to land troops in Lebanon which is, according to the report of the UN Commission, torn by civil war.

The U.S. position on the revolution in Iraq is equally deplorable. It is well known that the previous royalist regime was a police state intensely hated by the people of Iraq, who staged several unsuccessful revolutions to overthrow it in 1941, 1948, 1952 and 1956.

We should not have to remind you that the right to revolution is an inherent right of the people of any country and that the United States of America was founded by such a method. Our young Republic which came into being a few days ago enjoys the support of the overwhelming majority of our people whose slogan on the day of the revolution was: "This is the day we have wanted."

HOW COULD SUCH A REVOLUTION then arouse the ire of Mr. Henry Cabot Lodge and be used as a pretext for intervention in Lebanon and possible intervention in Iraq? Such Western intervention in Iraq as is being prepared will not deceive world public opinion no matter under what pretext it is carried out, even though it may deceive the American people thanks to the lies and distortions of the monopoly press.

If such aggression be unleashed against us, we will meet it with all the forces at our disposal, including the support of the Asian, African and Socialist countries and the sympathy of decent people all over the world.

Should this lead to an atomic war, which may well be the case, it will indeed be tragic but the responsibility will clearly and entirely rest upon the shoulders of the United States.

We sincerely hope that common sense and simple human decency will prevail and will curb the hot-heads in Washington who seem to be insistent on drawing the world into the abyss—and that world peace and our freedom will be saved.

Adnan Rubail, President of the Society of Iraqi Graduates of American Universities.

JORDANIANS DEMONSTRATE AGAINST INTERFERENCE
This crowd in Amman protested Ike's Doctrine a year ago

Peace efforts wrecked

GALO PLAZA, chairman of the UN observers group in Lebanon, last week said the American troop landings had wrecked his "patient efforts" to bring peace in what has been up to now "the most civilized civil war I have ever seen." He made his statement in an exclusive interview with the N.Y. Mirror's Serge Fliegers in Beirut.

THE FUTILITY OF CONTAINMENT

Conditions in Iraq made coup certain

By Tabitha Petran
Guardian staff correspondent

PARIS

THE MILITARY COUP which proclaimed Iraq a Republic July 14 is the expression of the capitalist revolution against feudalism and imperialism now gathering momentum in the Arab East. The GUARDIAN predicted six months ago that such a coup was inevitable.

Iraq's revolution demonstrates the futility of containment, for no country has ever been more "contained" than Iraq, not only from so-called "communist" ideas but also from those of Arab nationalism.

During World War II it was the only "allied" nation to ban Soviet publications. Syrian and Egyptian publications have also been banned. Some years after the war Iraq broke diplomatic relations with the U.S.S.R. on the grounds that these "were not necessary." It is not only the physical seat of the Baghdad Pact but the center of the Pact's "anti-subversive" organism. Baghdad as early as 1949 published a 1,000-page "Encyclopedia of Communist Infiltration" to serve as a guide book for all fascist and semi-fascist governments in the Middle East.

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In the protectorate itself, Sir Ali Abdul Karim, sultan of the largest unit, Lahej, has been openly agitating for a federation of the 23 sultanates, which in turn would join the UAR. Small armed units from the protectorate have been deserting to the UAR, and in Aden Colony, the N.Y. **Times** reported, "nationalism is growing [and] a recent strike . . . had nationalist overtones." Blaming all on the sultan of Lahej, London on July 11 banished him from the protectorate.

Hunger, disease, illiteracy, feudal and foreign exploitation and not communism lie at the root of the Arabs' discontent. The Soviet Union has a stake in the Middle East nevertheless, as a neighbor needing and desiring peace. Knowing the West's aim of crushing communism, it cannot permit its Middle East border to bristle with Western bases.

THE WAY OUT: The present U.S.-British-French military intervention is really aimed at the UAR, personified in Western eyes by President Nasser. The UAR President, however, is but a symbol; with or without him, the Arabs' march to freedom and unity will continue, and the West, unless bent on suicide, will have to fall in line.

Afro-Asians and the Soviet Union have proposed constructive alternatives: Encouragement of democracy rather than the propping up of feudalism; support of the Special United Nations Fund for Economic Development of poor countries; gradual elimination of foreign economic control of the region's resources; agreement to buy in the open market minerals now obtained through cheap labor at high profit; promotion of region-wide economic development, with Israel as a partner.

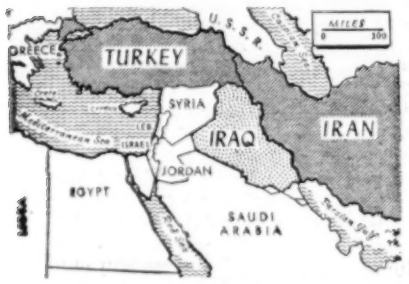
Before all else, however, the West must agree to renounce force as a means of settling disputes and of maintaining special privileges. At the moment, this would call for the immediate withdrawal of Western forces from the Middle East.

Crisis week

(Continued from Page 1)

said: "We exercised restraint which made it easy for them to collaborate. . . . We have the power and they did collaborate." UN observers had been in Lebanon to check on alleged "infiltration" from outside its borders to help the rebels. They had found none. A Lebanese official commented: "The UN is now observing the American infiltration. It is massive infiltration, isn't it?"

In the days that followed, that "infiltration" grew to invasion size. Paratroopers, armed with atomic artillery, were rushed from Germany by way of



Turkey. By the end of the week there were close to 10,000 U. S. troops in Lebanon matching almost man for man the total combined forces of the Lebanese army and the rebel contingents. Warships filled Beirut's harbor. U. S. planes buzzed low along the Jordan river to warn the Middle East, officials said, that the Fleet was in.

As the Marines landed, the Lebanese army—which has declined to attack the rebels with any vigor—at first swiveled its guns on the Marines. Only at the last moment was Gen. Fuad Shehab dissuaded from giving the signal to fire. Rebel snipers took pot-shots at the Marines and Lebanese boys sold soft drinks in crates that turned out to be booby-traps. Some U. S. planes were hit by rebel machine-gun fire but the only U. S. casualty after one week of occupation was a pilot whose plane crashed into a mountain while taking aerial photographs.

THE RESISTANCE: Rebel spokesmen warned that if the U. S. troops moved out of Beirut into rebel-held territory they would ask for volunteers from other lands to help the resistance. They ordered their men to cease any major action against other Lebanese and concentrate on the "invaders."

Observers agreed that the landing had accomplished greater unity than many thought possible, with many formerly pro-West elements going over to the rebels. At least half the Lebanese parliament, including its chairman, demanded the withdrawal of the troops. A Lebanese in New York told the GUARDIAN that if the Marines left, Lebanon's President Camille Chamoun, who had "requested" them, would have to leave with them.

As the Marines went ashore, the U. S. called for a meeting of the UN Security Council to legalize the landings. The Council met on July 15. All that week the debate dragged on. The U. S. proposed that the UN move in to do the job of protecting the Chamoun government from what the U. S. called "indirect aggression," meaning revolution. When that was done the Marines would leave, said the U. S. To many it seemed a matter of substituting a UN flag for the U.S. flag since the Marines would probably comprise the bulk of UN forces. The Soviet Union called for the immediate withdrawal of all foreign forces. Sweden, declaring that the landing was an "unauthorized" interference with domestic affairs in Lebanon, asked that the UN observers be withdrawn by way of condemning the action.

THE EMPIRE BLOC: The U. S. resolution was defeated by the Soviet veto with Sweden abstaining. The Soviet's lost 8-1 with Sweden and Japan abstaining. Sweden's proposal lost 9-2 with only the Soviet Union supporting Sweden. The debate was more revealing than the results. Canada, Colombia, Panama, Japan, though they went along with the U. S., were deeply critical and regretted the U. S. move. Tokyo said it had made peace "more difficult." Sweden's breakaway was a blow to the U. S.

UN Secy. General Dag Hammarskjold further embarrassed the U. S. by reminding the Council that the UN observers team had not found any signs of the infiltration from outside that had been the pretext for the U. S. landings.

In the end the U. S. could get firm support only from the Empire bloc and the expatriate delegations. Britain's Sir Pierson Dixon said: "We never recognize revolutionary governments." France dutifully seconded every Anglo-U. S. maneuver, unmindful of reports that U. S. and British forces were busily elbowing the French away from Beirut where de Gaulle had sent a cruiser to carry the Cross of Lorraine to glory.

The rest of the U. S. support in the Council came from the dispossessed: an Iraqi delegate, accredited by the vanished monarchy, who could not go home again, and the Formosa representative who persists in the UN fiction of representing China.

DEMONSTRATIONS: The shift of the neutrals was just as marked outside of the UN. India, West Germany and Italy were disturbed. In Indonesia volunteers offered to fight the U. S. troops in the Middle East. In Rome and Buenos Aires there were mass demonstrations at the U. S. Embassies.

Nothing, however equalled the demonstration of 100,000 at the U. S. Embassy in Moscow. No demonstration like it had been seen in Moscow since 1917. The Embassy's windows were shattered. Ink bottles were flung inside. Reports said the demonstration was staged but the anger on the faces of the people, facing the threat of atomic war, was unmistakeably genuine. The Moscow cops seemed to be having trouble restraining the demonstrations.

Meanwhile the military build-up continued. On July 17 Britain announced that its "Red Devil" paratroopers had landed in Jordan at the call of King Hussein who had proclaimed himself the ruler of the Arab Union of Jordan and Iraq. While Hussein thundered defiance of the Iraqi republic it was plain that only the British could protect him from his people. Other British troops landed at Libya, Egypt's neighbor, presumably to protect King Idris who later said he had not called for help. Still others were airlifted into the British-controlled sultanates of Arabia to be handy in case oil-soaked Kuwait should be menaced.

The British Empire leans heavily upon tiny Kuwait and looked unkindly on the conferences held in Cairo during Crisis Week between President Nasser and Kuwait's leaders. There were even rumors that Kuwait might enter the UAR which would be the last straw for the embattled Empire.

ELEVENTH HOUR: Nasser had apparently been taken as much by surprise as most others. He had been conferring with Yugoslav President Tito on the island of Brioni and was sailing back to Cairo aboard his yacht when the Iraqi revolt broke out. He thereupon changed course for the Soviet Union and turned up in Moscow for an eight-hour chat with Premier Khrushchev. He was said to have won the promise of Soviet volunteers if, but only if, the Anglo-American forces threatened Iraq.

By the week-end it looked as if the U. S. and Britain had seized all available points in the Middle East to frustrate the growing movement for Arab liberation. The Soviet Union throughout the week had warned repeatedly that it could "not remain indifferent" to the massive build-up so close to its borders.

On July 19 Khrushchev dispatched messages to the U. S., Britain, France, India and the Secy. Gen. of the UN. The note reminded the world that the Soviet Union could match the atomic weapons of the West and in addition had intercontinental missiles. (During Crisis Week another U. S. missile fizzled at Cape Canaveral.) He pleaded for a summit conference of the five powers and Hammarskjold at Geneva on July 22 but said he would be willing to go anywhere any time to solve the problem. His words were probably the gravest ever uttered by a statesman. He spoke of "this grim historic moment, when one cannot procrastinate a minute longer. . . . You understand full well that history has not left us much time to avert war, to avert the destruction of many millions of people, to avert the annihilation of tremendous material and cultural values."

He urged swift action "because the guns are already beginning to fire." He wrote: ". . . on your government, on you, personally, Mr. President, now depends the solution of the question how the conflict which has arisen in the area of the Near and Middle East is to be settled—by war or peace."

FATEFUL REJECTION: Only India and Hammarskjold accepted. The reactions in Washington and London seemed almost frivolous. Spokesmen called it a "propaganda" maneuver. "Inside" stories said that the Soviet Union would not act. Having moved in troops with unprecedented speed Britain and the U. S. urged all deliberate caution. De Gaulle said he would not be "stampeded." Having by-passed the UN by sending in troops the U. S. and Britain said they could not by-pass the UN to take them out again. The Security Council on July 21 took up a Japanese resolution which sought to meet the U. S. demands that the UN observer team be expanded without explicity calling for withdrawal of the Marines and paratroopers. If that failed a General Assembly would probably be summoned.

On July 22 the U.S. and Britain, ignoring pleas from Canada and other states drafted a fateful answer to Khrushchev, rejecting a summit conference at least for now.

Military analyst Hanson Baldwin said over NBC-TV that you could do everything with bayonets except sit on them. At GUARDIAN's press time Britain and the U. S. were doing precisely that. They sat on bayonets in Lebanon, Jordan and elsewhere. If they withdrew—and the world was prepared to offer face-saving devices for retreat—their puppets would be lost and the net result of their maneuver would have been to solidify the Pan-Arab movement of liberation. If they sit still they risk at least an occupation and guerilla war of indefinite duration and perhaps a spark that may touch off annihilation. If they go further they risk the Atomic Doomsday.

An appeal from Iraq

By cable to the Guardian

BAGHDAD

ON BEHALF OF GRADUATES of American universities in Iraq we appeal to you in the most urgent manner to stop United States aggression in our sister Arab state of Lebanon, the aggression against our sister state Jordan and the aggression being contemplated against our own beloved country. It is not possible for us to see how the United States, with complete disregard of the principles of the United Nations and without paying any heed to the report of the UN Commission in Lebanon, can give itself the right to land troops in Lebanon which is, according to the report of the UN Commission, torn by civil war.

The U.S. position on the revolution in Iraq is equally deplorable. It is well known that the previous royalist regime was a police state intensely hated by the people of Iraq, who staged several unsuccessful revolutions to overthrow it in 1941, 1948, 1952 and 1956.

We should not have to remind you that the right to revolution is an inherent right of the people of any country and that the United States of America was founded by such a method. Our young Republic which came into being a few days ago enjoys the support of the overwhelming majority of our people whose slogan on the day of the revolution was: "This is the day we have wanted."

HOW COULD SUCH A REVOLUTION then arouse the ire of Mr. Henry Cabot Lodge and be used as a pretext for intervention in Lebanon and possible intervention in Iraq? Such Western intervention in Iraq as is being prepared will not deceive world public opinion no matter under what pretext it is carried out, even though it may deceive the American people thanks to the lies and distortions of the monopoly press.

If such aggression be unleashed against us, we will meet it with all the forces at our disposal, including the support of the Asian, African and Socialist countries and the sympathy of decent people all over the world.

Should this lead to an atomic war, which may well be the case, it will indeed be tragic but the responsibility will clearly and entirely rest upon the shoulders of the United States.

We sincerely hope that common sense and simple human decency will prevail and will curb the hot-heads in Washington who seem to be insistent on drawing the world into the abyss—and that world peace and our freedom will be saved.

Adnan Rubail, President of the Society of Iraqi Graduates of American Universities.

JORDANIANS DEMONSTRATE AGAINST INTERFERENCE
This crowd in Amman protested Ike's Doctrine a year ago

Peace efforts wrecked

GALO PLAZA, chairman of the UN observers group in Lebanon, last week said the American troop landings had wrecked his "patient efforts" to bring peace in what has been up to now "the most civilized civil war I have ever seen." He made his statement in an exclusive interview with the N.Y. Mirror's Serge Fliegers in Beirut.

BOOKS

A breach in 'The Wall Between'

IF SOMEBODY got up an annual award for the best book on an American social question it would have to go this year to Anne Braden. **The Wall Between,*** her story of the now-famous Louisville sedition case which began in 1954 when she and her husband, Carl, bought a home in a Louisville suburban development and turned it over to a Negro couple, Andrew and Charlotte Wade, is not merely an outstanding social document of 1958. It is far and away the finest book on the Southern integration crisis that has been published in the past decade or more.

There is first of all the story. Anne Braden didn't have to contrive it. The narrative was "plotted" by life itself. There was the sale of the property; the attempt of the Wades to occupy it; the cross-burning; the bombing; the involvement and harassment of innocents; the panic of the white community; the jail sentences; the appeal and the vindication.

Any able craftsman, from news clippings and interviews, might have put the facts together into a highly dramatic story of an important episode in the continuing struggle for racial democracy. But undoubtedly none but Anne Braden could have written such a remarkable book as this one.

FOR HERE THE AUTHOR has not merely set down the facts. She does that, to be sure, with an arresting simplicity that reflects a high level of artistic discipline. She writes quietly, never shouting, never uttering a polemical word. For emphasis, she simply finds another way to express the few fundamental truths that recur throughout the book and constitute her creed.

The end result is the most unobstrusive, well-reasoned and damning indictment of the jimcrow system any white American has drawn in many a day.

Anne Braden could do it because the book is as much about herself as about the "case." It is about a well-born Southern white woman who never met a Negro on an equal plane until she was 19 years old. It is about a gentle and highly-cultured descendant of Kentucky aristocrats who was 22 before she lived in a place where Negroes could vote.

THE WALL BETWEEN is about others, too. Principally her husband, Carl, the journalist son of a railroad worker who was an ardent union man and Debs socialist. His working-class outlook and her Episcopal commitment to Christian brotherhood merge in the book, as in life, to form a unique amalgam in the fight for human equality. During the trial in Louisville people talked in the streets and at the country clubs about how the Bradens should be lynched because they broke the code of white solidarity against Negro equality.

Anne Braden searches the hearts of these people, too. Her findings are always acute. "How much so-called prejudice," she asks, "is maintained from generation to generation because every man must prove to his neighbor that he thinks as he thinks his neighbor thinks?"

She knows "that race prejudice being an emotional thing cannot be removed by intellectual arguments alone." And the examples of the pain, and eventually the joy, experienced by white Southerners as they throw off the blight of generations, is one of the most heartening aspects of the book.

The Wall Between is especially for white people—Southerners first of all, but Northerners as well. If any book can jar the uncommitted from their bases of complacency; if any writing can convince white Americans that self and national interests call them to a crusade against segregation—here is that work.

The book is for Negroes, too. They need to know that the struggle has produced, on the other side of the wall between, a Southern white woman, prototype and forerunner of tens of thousands more, so sincere, so brave, so irreproachably honest that one can only read her words and know: the wall must come down—it only takes, on both sides, the doing.

—**Louis E. Burnham**

**THE WALL BETWEEN*, by Anne Braden. Monthly Review Press, 66 Barrow St., New York 14. 306 pp. $5.*

PUBLICATIONS

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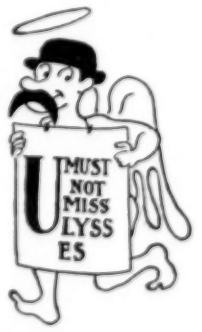

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CRISIS DIVIDES THE PRESS

How Middle East intervention was interpreted here and abroad

THE MIDDLE EAST crisis split most newspapers wide apart with reporters at odds with the editorial page, occasionally with each other. While most commentators were highly critical of the troop landings, most editorials were in favor of them. Outstanding exception was the **Wall St. Journal.** On July 16 the **Journal** said:

"In no sense is this a battle against Communism as an ideology or, as in Korea, a war against Communist imperialistic aggression. What we are struggling against in the Middle East is a rising tide of people's deep emotions." The editorial asked what we were fighting for and answered: ". . . for the oil fields of the Middle East . . . a frank power drive of precisely the kind we have so long deplored in others. . . . Can the United States, in the long run, gain by a policy that makes it necessary to use force? This newspaper does not think so." Force, said the **Wall St. Journal,** would turn the Arabs' resentments "into hatred for America."

The San Francisco **Chronicle** spoke of "the psychological damage" inflicted from "the posts in Lebanon that we have all too impetuously manned." The **Chronicle** hoped that the UN would bail us out.

QUESTIONS ASKED: The Chicago **Tribune** asked what would happen if the plan to save President Chamoun bloodlessly went awry: "Will our marines then shoot, and if so whom, and gain what end?" The **N. Y. Post** said we were "risking so much on so muddy a front with such dubious allies, such limited objectives and so negative a battle cry." Most papers echoed the **N. Y. Herald Tribune:** "This is the warning now laid down to Nasser and his Kremlin inciters: They shall not pass. This was a day to make every American proud of his heritage."

In Britain the **Daily Worker** was the only paper to sound an alarm. It called for a "mighty Trafalgar Sq. demonstration" but none materialized. The **Daily Herald** called it "madness" and appealed for a summit conference before Krushchev sent his message. The Manchester **Guardian** said the step was "foolish—breathtakingingly so." The **Times** defended the troop moves as "a question of honor."

In Canada the Toronto **Globe and Mail** compared the move to Soviet intervention in Hungary, asking: "What's the difference?" The Montreal **Gazette** found it strange that the U. S. should support "entrenched authority against the attacks of popular opinion." New Delhi papers unanimously denounced the move. Papers in France and Italy divided on a Left-Right political basis. But the West German press was perhaps the most vigorous and nearly unanimous in denouncing the military moves. The Hamburg **Die Welt** said Dulles now stood "at the brink of war with a covering that is legally and morally dubious." The Bonn **General Anzeiger:** "The landing of forces is as outdated as is colonialism. It must not be the last word in the Middle East."

TORCH OF WAR: The press in East Europe and in China said that "the torch of war" had been thrown into the Middle East.

Politically the Labor Party in Britain opposed the move in Parliament. But the GUARDIAN's Cedric Belfrage wrote from London: "A sort of fatalism is growing which only a clear call from Labor could remedy. Progressives wondered if the slow, cautious machine dominated by Hugh Gaitskell & Co. of the right wing would sound the call in time to prevent catastrophe."

In Washington Democratic Sens. Humphrey (Minn.), Morse (Ore.), Kefauver (Tenn.) and Mansfield (Mont.) opposed the landing of troops. Customarily liberal Sens. Neuberger (Ore.), Sparkman (Ala.) and Green (R. I.) backed the President. Among the Republican critics of the move were Sens. Cooper (Ky.) and Jenner (Ind.) who startled observers by shouting: "Remember Korea, a war you couldn't win and dare not lose. All you could do was stand there and die."

In the House Rep. Henry S. Reuss (D-Wisc.) bitterly attacked the President for sending troops without Congressional approval but Speaker Sam Rayburn (D-Tex.) discouraged other critics by declaring from the chair that "in times like these we had better allow matters to develop rather than make remarks about them."

CALENDAR

Seattle

WHAT: second Program of the Seattle Branch of the American Forum for Socialist Education.
WHEN: Thurs. July 31, 8 p.m. sharp.
WHERE: Washington Hall, 14th Av. & E. Fir St.
TOPIC: "Does Independent Political Action Demand a United Socialist Ticket?"
WHO: Dr. JAY W. FRIEDMAN, Chairman, PAUL BOWEN, acquitted, Seattle Smith Act Defendant. CLARA KAYE, Seattle Chairman, Socialist Workers Party, TERRY PETTUS, Northwest Editor, People's World. Donation.

Los Angeles

MARTIN HALL REVIEWS THE NEWS. Thursday, July 31, 8:15 p.m. 1251 S. St. Andrews Pl. corner Pico. Donation $1. SPECIAL TOPIC: FIRE IN THE NEAR EAST.

"U. S. DILEMMA IN THE MIDDLE EAST." Speaker: Hildegarde MacLeod; Questions and Discussion. Friday, August 1, 8:15 p.m. Forum Hall; 1702 E. 4th St., Los Angeles, Calif. **Auspices: International Socialist Review.**

Los Angeles Committee for Protection of Foreign Born urges you to reserve the following date: Saturday, October 25, 1958, **EIGHTH TESTIMONIAL DINNER FOR ATTORNEYS,** at Park Manor, 607 No. Western Av. Reservations accepted at Committee offices, 326 W. Third St., Room 318, Los Angeles 13, Calif. Telephones: MA 5-2169, MA 5-2160.

Detroit

HEAR FRANK LOVELL, Socialist Workers Candidate for Governor, on the **"Crisis in the Mideast."** Friday, Aug 1, 8 p.m. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward.

Chicago

AMERICAN SOCIALIST CLUB ANNUAL PICNIC. Sun. Aug. 10, at Jackson Park, 60th St. at Stony Island. Starts at 12 noon. Lots of food and fun for all.

New York

PETITION RALLY to open the **United Independent-Socialist campaign** for 12,000 signatures to put John T. McManus, Corliss Lamont and other candidates on the state ballot this fall.
THIS THURSDAY, JULY 24
8 P. M.
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KEEP THIS DATE OPEN: Aug. 15-17 weekend. "United Independent-Socialist Encampment Rally. Wingdale-on-the-lake. Detailed announcement in next Guardian.

NEW DIRECTIONS PRESENTS:
"Good Place to Raise a Boy." Based on the Emmett Till story. At the Hotel Theresa, 123 St. & 7th Av. **Fridays, Saturdays, Sundays.** Curtain 8:30 p.m. For res. call UN 5-7425.

MAINSTREAM FORUM
8:30 p.m. Sunday July 27
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Tuesday, July 29
6:30 — "The State and Freedom"
Last in "Human Freedom" series.
HERBERT APTHEKER
Wednesday, July 30
6:30 — "Mikhail Sholokhov"
Last in "Communist-Novelist" series
ANNETTE RUBINSTEIN
8:30 — "Lenin in October"
Last in "Great Soviet Films"
HAROLD COLLINS
Thursday, July 31, 8:30 p.m.
"The Communists and the 1958 Election Campaign."
ARNOLD JOHNSON, Secretary for Public Affairs, Communist Party.
All lectures and Forums are held at Adelphi Hall, 74 Fifth Av.
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General

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IN THE SUMMER ISSUE:
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THE GALLERY

THERE IS A STORY GOING AROUND Washington about a note the House Judiciary Committeee sent to Eisenhower asking, "Are you for or against additional civil rights legislation?" The reply came back: "Why of course I am." . . . **Wall Street Journal** figures the Pentagon has already spent enough money on missiles to buy a new house and Cadillac for every family in Seattle . . . A sign in a New York auto dealer's window reads, "Volkswagen go home." . . . In Siberia a driver invented a gadget that automatically starts a car engine, warms it up and then switches it off when engine temperature drops below a specified level.

A CURRENT SCANDAL POINTING UP general corruption in South Korea concerns U.S. Army Procurement Agency officers and their S. Korean counterparts who were allegedly slipped $44,000 to pass a load of soap containing lye. The investigation was touched off when S. Korean soldiers using the soap began to lose their hair . . . When confronted with allegations that he had been arrested on a morals charge at a Los Angeles stag party and had a past record of charges of attempted murder and sex-perversion, Howard Walker, mayor of Stanton, Calif., said: "Communism or political undermining is causing the people of Stanton to turn like fools." . . . For Ronald Stead, Far East correspondent for the **Christian Science Monitor,** communism was also an issue. He wrote: "What happens when the Communists are allowed to become 'respectable' [legal] can be seen in Laos, Indonesia and—most recently—Burma. In each of these countries Communists and fellow-travelers have obtained so much potential influence by democratic means that the only reliable barrier against their ultimately dominating the administration seems to be the Army."

LOUISIANA LEGISLATORS passed a law setting Saturday as primary day instead of Tuesday. Winners of Democratic primary elections in Louisiana are almost automatically designated in November. The Townsend Plan **National Courier** speculated that the law is aimed at Jewish voters . . . A Methodist bishop in Jackson, Miss., thinks religious leaders ought to begin planning missionary work on other planets.

—Robert E. Light

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. . . AND THE WALLS CAME TUMBLING DOWN

When Paul Robeson broke the passport barrier and arrived in London, he was mobbed by admirers at the airport (r.) The scene was repeated many times during his first week abroad; in the House of Lords where he sat in the Distinguished Visitors section; in the lobby of the House of Commons; at a reception given by the London Committee; and in the London streets where he stopped traffic when he walked alone.

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NEWSPAPER

the SPECTATOR

Our own Islam

IF THE PEOPLE of the U. S. manage to extricate the nation from the full consequences of Dulles' bungling brinkmanship, it might serve them well to take a good look, right under their noses, at one of the more exotic outgrowths of the Pan-Arab movement.

For several years now a Georgian who renamed himself Elijah Muhammad has been building Temples of Islam throughout the country, winning converts to Allah primarily among the youth, investing in business enterprises, and forging solidarity with the Moslem peoples of the Middle East, Asia and Africa.

Undoubtedly Dulles' brother's snoopers have been bird-dogging around the movement, but the nation at large—for all its need to understand and live with resurgent Arab nationalism—has hardly recognized this American variant.

Perhaps the reason is that Elijah Muhammad and his followers are Negroes. Their numbers are estimated variously between 10,000 and 50,000. They have organized groups of "Warriors of Allah" in more than 25 cities, including New York, Atlanta, Boston, Cleveland, Detroit and Los Angeles. This past February 10,000 delegates crowded into their annual convention in Chicago—the largest turnout at any Negro gathering save the Baptists'.

THE MOSLEMS may not be on the eve of displacing the NAACP as the main repository of the American Negro's hopes, but even a casual look at the Negro community reveals they are a force increasingly to be reckoned with. Manhattan Borough President Hulan Jack, Congressional aspirant Earl Brown, State Sen. James S. Watson and other political figures did just that when they showed up at a recent overflow meeting of Harlem Moslems. Congressman Adam Clayton Powell jr. sent a telegram of greeting.

The movement's appeal to Negroes is not hard to discover. It is militant. It inveighs against the teachings and the practices of the "cruel Christian slave-master," the "murderous slave-master." It promises an impoverished people economic "independence" and encourages them to set up small businesses. It calls for abandoning the slave-master complex in Negroes' relationships with whites. It fosters a subjective identification with the "ancient cultural splendor and the present mineral wealth of the African-Asian countries."

No matter that it may founder eventually on the hard reality of the Negro's position in the U. S., separated by three centuries and 5,000 miles from his cultural past in Africa, yet excluded still from the mainstream of American culture. It would be easy to say that Negroes are not Africans any more, and certainly not Arabs, and that the movement therefore cannot succeed. But the fact is its growth has been steady and in some places spectacular.

PERHAPS IT IS BASED as much on the miserable failure of democracy—despite whatever the Supreme Court has ruled—after 300 years of lies, oppression and boastful hypocrisy. Negroes historically have sought three ways to solve their problems in this land. One was through piecemeal reform of the way the nation treats them, without particular regard to the way the nation as a whole is run. Another has been through alliance with working whites for radical change in the entire power structure as a prerequisite for real equality. The third—when the tide of the first two waned—has been black nationalism, the rejection of petty reform, integration and alliance with whites, the search for redemption in Africa.

It is an anomaly that just at the time the fight against segregation has scored some significant victories, a Pan-Moslem movement should arise among Negroes rejecting integration and social equality as a devilish snare and delusion. The fact that the traditional organizations of Negro protest have paid paltry little attention to the critical economic needs of masses of Negro workers could help explain the seeming contradiction. Certainly the NAACP's insistence through all the Cold War years upon giving unvarying though unenthusiastic support to Dulles' disastrous foreign policies has not furthered its claim upon the affection of millions of Negroes.

Oakland Tribune
Somebody turned off the light

Most important, the movement would seem to reveal that, whatever the nation has done to right the wrongs heaped upon Negroes through the years, it has not done enough fast enough. If we recover from the current madness which places our youth, Negro and White, on the soil of Lebanon where they are not wanted, perhaps we'll wake up to the fact that time is fast running out on Western arrogance—in the Middle East and in our own Harlems.

—Louis E. Burnham